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THE COMMONWEAL
232 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.

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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

The Need for Criticism

AS MANY observers have noted, the second session of the Vatican Council has lacked the drama of the first. Speeches which a year ago would have seemed daring and revolutionary are now taken as a matter of course. Positions which once appeared daring and radical now gain the support of large numbers, if not a majority, of the Council Fathers.

This past week was no exception. The attack of Joseph Cardinal Frings on the Holy Office—and the applause which greeted it—was wholly consistent with the efforts of the Fathers to subject the Church to an intense scrutiny, to criticize, when necessary, some venerable institutions and practices in the Church. So too the announcement that the Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity had distributed a proposed schema on the Church's attitude toward Jews was greeted with enthusiasm—despite the fact that it implies the necessity of many changes in Catholic catechisms and textbooks.

Yet even if such events as these no longer seem unexpected or startling, they have a profound significance. In themselves, of course, their significance is obvious and should not require elaboration here. For the moment, what we have in mind is their bearing on that central question which has underlain almost every debate in the Council: In what way and to what extent should the Church criticize and reform itself? This is a question the importance of which is borne home to us almost daily. We meet it in complaints from some of our readers that we do not go "far enough" in our criticisms of Catholic theory and practice. We also meet it in complaints, from another body of readers, that we seem sour and negative: that we are forever griping and censorious in our approach to the problems before the Church. Where, these latter readers ask, is evidence of love for the Church?

The attack of Cardinal Frings and the schema on the Jews help to illuminate the issue of criticism in the Church. First of all, both show that it takes a considerable period of time to effect reforms in the Church. Cardinal Frings' critique of the Holy Office, while sharp, was not original. Many others, of lesser rank, have said the same thing in recent years. It has likewise been known for many years that derogatory descriptions of the Jews are easy to find in both official and non-official Catholic writings. Yet in both instances, it was a slow and arduous task to gain acceptance of these criticisms. Nothing less than an unceasing effort—indeed, a certain amount of plain nagging—was needed to make them be taken seriously by those in a position to effect reforms.

SECONDLY, the very slowness of reform in ordinary circumstances has placed a premium on direct, candid criticism. Neither the Church nor the world can afford the creeping pace of renewal that was common to the Church in the past. In practice, that means it is no longer wise, much less an expression of love, to overlay needed criticisms with a thick layer of praise and homage for those very institutions which need reform. Blunt words, not flattering rhetoric, are called for.

Thirdly, a discrepancy between theory and practice is common in numerous areas of Church life. For years Catholics have denied that the Church is prejudiced against Jews. Have not many popes, bishops and theologians indignantly rejected the charge? For all that, it is still easily possible to find modes of speech and writing which seem to fly in the face of the avowed principles of the Church. But the only way these discrepancies were noted was by an untiring effort to unearth and expose them. Even more, these discrepancies cannot be treated with delicacy: it is practice, not principle, by which men and institutions are to be judged today. The sham of splendid totalitarian "Constitutions" has shown us that.

Fourthly, the very fact that self-criticism is such a recent event in the Church means that the faults

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and errors of decades and even centuries have to be rectified. Had the Church examined itself in the past as diligently as it is now doing, much of what is being said today might have been unnecessary. But no, the custom was otherwise: it was self-praise which Catholics heaped on themselves. It is painful to admit that some of this praise was undeserved; but it must be admitted.

What, finally, is it to love the Church? It is to be committed to the good of the Church and to Him Who is its founder and ultimate meaning. The good of the Church today requires reform and renewal. That is a task which cannot be accomplished without honesty and directness. The Church has begun taking those hard steps. It cannot and should not turn back.

Headway in India

OF ALL the things that puzzle Americans about the great sub-continent of India doubtless Mr. Nehru's foreign policy is in the van. It is hard to understand non-alignment—and to cope with an Indian tendency both to overlook Soviet suppressions and threats to peace and, even at crucial moments, to court Russian favor. Moreover, India appears to be obsessed with its quarrel with Pakistan over Kashmir and related issues. Finally, the problems of other lands do not appear to concern New Delhi sufficiently. Yet these tendencies do appear more understandable in the context of India's colonial past and its desperate struggle for national survival.

How is it possible to square the continuance of its wretched living conditions with the massive injections of foreign aid? The deplorable state of so much of India's agriculture, the millions of homeless still sleeping in city streets, widespread joblessness and underemployment—in short the deep and unrelieved poverty of so many—plainly reflect the magnitude of the national task. And there are such complicating factors as the caste system, a steady growth in population and the prevalence of religious beliefs which do not permit the killing of animals that would provide much nourishment or even those which destroy vital crops.

In the face of such handicaps Chester Bowles, who is newly returned as American Ambassador to New Delhi, finds that India is actually making impressive headway. He reports in the Sunday New York *Times Magazine* a series of major accomplishments within the past decade. Industrial production has doubled, with steel output three times, and electric power four times, what it was in 1953. Output of many key products is substantial, and the foundations of a modern industrial state are in the making.

During the past ten years food-grain production has increased by half, with better farming techniques slowly spreading and twenty million more acres under irrigation. On the average the people of India have improved their diet by two hundred calories a day. This, with the successful conquest of malaria and other medical advances, has reduced infant mortality and raised the average life span from twenty-seven to forty years.

Mr. Bowles finds the progress of Indian education a most hopeful indication. The steady reduction of illiteracy and the matriculation each year of hundreds of capable doctors, teachers, and engineers (even nuclear experts) assure increasing internal stability—which is based on a background of British civil service and has been manifest in the successful conduct of national and state elections. Because of its potentialities as a counterweight to Communist China, the future of democratic India is of great moment to the world. It is responsible for the well-being of over four hundred million people. Its recent progress should answer the requirements of the most vehement advocate of highly selective foreign aid.

Catholics and Vietnam

A GENERATION ago, The Commonweal drew some severe criticism for attempting to dissociate the cause of Franco from the cause of the Catholic Church. Similarly, though on a lesser scale, we have been criticized for attempting the same sort of dissociation from another Catholic anti-Communist, President Diem of South Vietnam. In a sense the comparison is unfair; whatever favoritism Diem gave his co-religionists, he never attempted to depict his survival as a cause for Catholics to support because of their religion. And it is true that Cath-

Next Week

WALTER DEAN BURNHAM writes about the results and implications of the 1963 elections:

"The real winner of the 1963 elections seems to have been Senator Goldwater, and the real losers his more liberal opponents in the G.O.P. For the past year or so, Republican candidates have been trying out a new kind of campaign. They have been arguing that the Kennedys have been . . . paying scant heed to the traditional American values of local autonomy and property rights . . . broad hints have been thrown to the voters as to the relation of these concepts to the racial issue."

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olics who supported Diem to the bitter end usually took great pains to point out, rightly, that the religious connection was not central to the dispute in Vietnam.

Yet looking back on the controversy, it would seem that Catholic opinion in the United States favored the Diem regime out of all proportion to the general population. This is at best a guess, but there are many signs that it is a good one. Mme. Nhu's reception at two New York City colleges is perhaps significant: at Columbia she was booed, attacked in signs and chants, and eggs were thrown by several students; at Fordham, to quote one New York daily, she was welcomed as a heroine by "4,000 cheering, stomping students, priests and nuns."

Our concern at the moment is not which reaction was more fitting. The facts about Vietnam certainly allowed different interpretations of the situation. But why should the reaction differ so starkly from one New York campus to another? Could it have been, as one Fordham student said in an editorial in the New York *Catholic News*, that the difference was between a "civilized" reaction on the one hand, and "an ugly beatnik mob of ultra-liberals and ban-the-bombers" on the other? Or can it be suggested that Catholic social principles account for the difference? Well, hardly. The difference would suggest to us a greater tendency among American Catholics to support anti-Communist leaders despite charges of political repression—or worse, to regard evidence of political repression as some sort of conspiracy against an effective Catholic leader because of his anti-Communism.

This tendency to rally around the "hard" anti-Communist leader, and to accept only the evidence that supports him, is not confined to Catholics. It is a general weakness of political conservatives in this country, but one, in this case, that seems to have been given a particularly Catholic twist. The Catholic press, for instance, did not confine itself to establishing the irrelevance of Diem's religion to a consideration of the wider issues in Vietnam. In general, it printed a series of articles, stretching back to last winter, that supported the Diem regime; the religious and political charges against Diem were consistently confused, with the result that virtually all these charges were made to appear unfair.

Indignation over the repeated press identification of Diem as a Catholic became translated into a political defense of Diem, and these strange reports kept appearing right up to Diem's seizure and brutal execution. In fact, the confusion lives on after him—a report indignant over the suggestion that Diem committed suicide (because he was a Catholic) also suggested resentment over the fact that the coup was allowed to take place at all.

These reports, filed by Father Patrick O'Connor from Vietnam, were circulated by National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service, the primary—and often the only—source of foreign news for diocesan weeklies. To his credit, Father O'Connor was one of the first to charge that the Buddhist repressions were political and not religious acts. But he also thought that they were legitimate, if excessive, acts by a legitimate government. As the controversy grew, his belief of the justification of the Diem regime permeated his reports. He complained of the "Greek chorus of journalists" who filed reports different from his, and felt compelled to argue that life in South Vietnam was "immeasurably freer, easier and better" than in Communist North Vietnam.

To our knowledge only two voices were raised against this one-sided reporting: Joe Breig, who wrote in *Ave Maria* of the "unfortunate ambiguity" of Father O'Connor's dispatches, and the *Criterion* of Indianapolis which charged that "Father O'Connor has been trying too hard to defend the Diem government." This type of reporting is bad enough. What is worse is that through its omnipresence and editorial support in the Catholic press, it came to be looked upon as a quasi-official Catholic interpretation of Vietnam. It is nothing of the sort, merely another example of "Catholic-angle" reporting run amok.

NEWS & VIEWS

Dialogue Among Pickets

RELATIONSHIPS between Catholics and Protestants in Boston entered a wholly new phase this month. Despite a cold, driving rain, over two hundred white Christians—Catholic and Protestant, laity and clergy—gathered on Friday, November 8th, to march for over two hours in a "penitential procession for human rights." The procession took the form of picketing various public buildings to protest racial discrimination. "We do not stand as prejudice-less whites pointing fingers at others," leaders of the march told the press, "rather we confess that we are all guilty, that we must all repent." Demonstrators carried placards bearing quotations from the Bible, from *Pacem in Terris*, and from statements by Pope Paul VI.

This demonstration of Christian unity in action grew out of the remarkable burgeoning of Catholic-Protestant retreats and discussions which have occurred in Boston during the past few years. These experiences have reached a point where now, as spokesmen for the procession pointed out, "we are given a new opportunity to manifest our unity in

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Christ by protesting together against racial alienation." In doing this, they continued, "we take a step toward a new kind of ecumenical cooperation in Boston."

For months now, Boston civil-rights leaders have been stymied by the refusal of the Boston School Committee even to discuss the problem of *de facto* segregation in the public schools. Although a few steps have been taken to alleviate the problem, NAACP leaders rightly feel that their case has simply been rejected. Boston's schools remain in fact segregated and in fact unequal.

A report issued several weeks ago by fourteen prominent religious, educational and civic leaders of the city appealed for a solution to what it called "the segregation problem in the Boston public schools." The report said that most Negro students attend schools which are predominantly Negro and that in textbook and health expenditures as well as in other standard indices, these schools "are in fact not equal to the rest of the Boston public schools." The report went on to insist that "education in non-segregated schools is the most important step towards bringing to Negro Americans the full benefits of life in America today," and then suggested some possible steps to take. The Methodist and Episcopal bishops of Massachusetts were among the signers, as was Father Robert Drinan, Dean of Boston College Law School.

But the widely publicized statement seemed to make little impact on the School Committee. Even in the face of picketing and a sit-in, it has refused to discuss the issue. The Negro community itself has become understandably impatient. Nor were civil rights advocates particularly cheered by the results of November's election. Mrs. Louise Day Hicks—the chairman of the School Committee and the symbol of resistance to the NAACP—was re-elected by such a telling margin that she is now looking towards higher elective horizons. Her re-election, which was publicly hailed by Governor Wallace, has more than simply local interest. She has demonstrated that there is considerable political mileage to be gained from taking a tough attitude toward Negro demands in a city with large numbers of white voters.

No one knows of course what impact last week's ecumenical demonstration will have on the Boston impasse, but it could have some. The presence of Catholic clergy in impressive numbers, for example, could help prevent the racial crisis from being complicated by religious divisions. This is always a danger since most of the School Committee members are Catholics while most of the civil-rights leaders are Protestants. In any case, if the racial revolution provokes a polarization in American politics, as is widely predicted, Boston has shown that some Catholics and Protestants are ready to move their newly discovered vision of the unity of the Church into the struggle for reconciliation in the world.

HARVEY COX

WASHINGTON REPORT

Foreign Aid in Trouble

FOR THOSE who believe that the United States has an important moral obligation to assist the economic development of the poorer countries of the world, the Senate debate on the foreign aid bill during the past two weeks has been a profoundly discouraging performance.

The lack of good will, the pettiness, the almost megalomaniacal arrogance, and the frequent distortions of fact and confusion of categories have not enhanced the good name of the Senate or done justice to the character of the American people.

The Kennedy Administration is, initially, to blame for part of this bad showing. A year ago, President Kennedy appointed a commission headed by General Lucius Clay and heavily weighted with conservative bankers and businessmen to survey the program. This was a public relations maneuver to enlist the support of business community. It failed. The report of the Clay Committee was so hostile to the spirit of the foreign aid program that it could not serve as the effective rallying point for businessmen or any other supporters. It has only provided arguments for those who have always wanted to kill foreign aid. Moreover, in the backwash of publicity about the Clay Report, the President felt constrained to cut his own recommended budget figure by a half-billion dollars. This virtually incited the Congressional enemies of the program to cut it still further.

Secondly, the President has failed to divide the military and economic portions of the aid program. This reform has been discussed on and off in the Senate for nearly a decade. Senator Fulbright, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, urged it again last month in opening debate on the current bill. Each half of the program has its own constituency, but artificially joined together the two constituencies cancel out rather than reinforce one another. Those who believe in military assistance can defend it in cold war terms. Those who believe in economic assistance can defend it in terms

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of moral responsibility and a liberal, long-range view of our national interest. There is really no logical difficulty in believing in both halves of the program, but as a practical matter, it is very hard to make the cold warriors and the liberals work together. The former think that economic assistance is mostly waste, while the latter are disillusioned by the cynical and sometimes unsavory aspects of military aid programs. If the military program were placed in the Pentagon budget where it belongs, it would float through Congress along with the rest of the easily approved military budget. It would then be possible to discuss the economic assistance program on its merits.

Mr. Kennedy's third and perhaps worst error has been his failure to fight for the foreign aid program. During the first two weeks that the Senate was considering the bill, and many important votes on amendments were being taken, he made no public comment of any kind on the measure. His speech before the Protestant Council of New York on November 8 defending foreign aid was excellent but very belated.

The failings of the Administration help explain but they do not mitigate or excuse the wretched performance of the Senate. A group of liberal Democrats under the leadership of Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon has been the decisive faction in swinging the Senate in favor of drastic reductions of the aid program. Morse and a few others such as William Proxmire (Wisconsin), Frank Church (Idaho), and Ernest Gruening (Alaska) have provided the noise, but as usual the hard core of votes has come from the traditional coalition of Southern Democrats and Western Republicans. What is most discouraging is that this coalition has been in the minority since the sensational gains made by the Northern Democrats in the 1958 election. This is the most liberal Senate since the height of the New Deal. Unless President Kennedy wins by an extraordinary margin next year, he cannot pull through to re-election some of the Democrats who were swept in during the economic recession of 1958. In short, this should be the best of all times for getting Senate approval of a properly presented and comprehensive program of foreign economic assistance which, for once, would truly meet the need in the underdeveloped countries. Instead, Morse and a few other irresponsibles have defected to the reactionary coalition and succeeded in damaging the program more severely this year than ever before. An historic opportunity has been lost.

The main burden of the liberal complaint is, quite understandably, against the military assistance program. About four-fifths of this money goes to a half-dozen small countries on the perimeter of the Communist world: South Korea, Formosa, South Vietnam, Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey. Whether our money is well spent subsidizing modern air forces and large standing armies in these countries is a debatable military judgment. Presidents Kennedy, Eisenhower and Truman and their successive Chiefs of Staff have contended the money was well-spent. To this observer, this expenditure seems no more or less wasteful than the money spent for the other components in our deterrent force.

The rest of the military aid goes to countries in Latin America and to a few other countries such as Indonesia. The military equipment sent to Latin America has sometimes been used by local armies to overthrow their own governments, as recently happened, for example, in Honduras. If Morse and others had concentrated on attacking this minor part of the military assistance program, they would have been on sound ground. But they have exploited their own justifiable indignation on this point to launch broad attacks on all phases of the program, economic as well as military.

Morse and Gruening, for example, used the example of Honduras to argue against the small program of military assistance to Indonesia. Although no one stood up in the Senate to say so, it is an open secret that the U.S. fears a Communist takeover once Indonesian President Sukarno leaves the scene. Our military assistance to his army is, in effect, part of an intelligence operation to keep in contact with his generals. It is hoped that, if necessary, they will block a Communist coup by armed force. Now it is all very well for Senator Morse and other liberals to state, as Morse did, that they are not worried about Communists winning Indonesia. But the State Department and the Pentagon have to worry about such an eventuality. Indonesia is the richest prize in Asia. If it becomes allied with Red China, it would mean that all the blood and dollars we have expended trying to contain the Chinese Communists in South Korea and South Vietnam were spent for nothing.

Much less comprehensible, in liberal or any other terms, were Morse's proposals to reduce economic development funds for the Alliance for Progress and for India.

Notwithstanding the defection of a few self-important Senators on the liberal side, the Democratic majority is so large that it could have saved the bill if it had been properly marshalled. Unfortunately, Senator Fulbright, nominally the floor manager for the bill, and Senator Mike Mansfield (Montana), nominally the Democratic Majority Leader, are personally attractive men but lacking in the aggressiveness needed to dominate their colleagues. The result was that several harmful amendments carried by one or two votes. The only Democrat to cover himself with glory in this debate has been Senator Hubert Humphrey (Minnesota) who successfully waged a one-man fight to restore part of the funds knocked out of the Alliance for Progress.

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

(William V. Shannon is The Commonweal's regular correspondent in Washington.)

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Race Against Time

WITH Rome behind me, I have begun to catch up on what happened while I was away. In the magazines, one of the most significant items was the report in *Newsweek* for October 21 on the white man's attitudes toward the Negro Revolt—a follow-up on the magazine's memorable study of the Negro in America a few months earlier.

"Revolt" is not too strong a word. As *Newsweek* put it last July: "The summer of 1963 was a time of revolution, the season when nineteen million U. S. Negroes demanded payment of the century-old promissory note called the Emancipation Proclamation." The March on Washington was perhaps the most massive indication of the civil rights drive, but behind it were scores of incidents which gave it meaning: Negroes marching in the face of fire hoses and police dogs; Negro children leading the ranks of a racial demonstration; Negro students sitting in at lunch counters; Negroes gathered by the thousands to mourn a leader shot in the back.

What does the Negro want? The day of small goals is gone. The new Negro wants nothing less than equality. He wants the right to vote in practice as well as in theory; he wants equal job opportunities; he wants integrated and equal educational opportunities for his children; he wants to live in integrated neighborhoods.

Among whites, even those who favor civil rights often worry lest mass demonstrations lead to violence. As far as the Negro is concerned, his revolution is committed to non-violence, although one out of five thinks some violence is inevitable. On this point the difference between Negro and white is that fear of violence is not enough to make the Negro call off his demands. He is hopeful that violence will not occur, but if that risk is the price of freedom, he is willing to pay it.

In the end, however, the rate of Negro progress depends very much on the attitudes of whites, who constitute ninety percent of the population. On this score the picture that emerges from the *Newsweek* study goes in two directions. The white man's intelligence tells him all men are equal; his emotions tell him the Negro is "different." "The white man is eternally torn between the right that he knows and the wrong that he does."

There it is, then, what Gunnar Myrdal called the American dilemma, the contrast between the American dream and American practice. Seventy-six percent of all American whites recognize that the Negro is the victim of prejudice; even in the South, sixty percent concede this point. The majority grant that Negroes have been relegated to second-class schools, to the most menial jobs, and the poorest housing. They are willing to make amends—but only to a point.

In North and South alike, whites say they favor laws that would guarantee equality on the job to Negroes. Specifically, and surprisingly, a national majority of sixty-three percent favors President Kennedy's civil-rights bill, including its public accommodations provision, and would even support a Federal fair employment practices law. As for the Supreme Court decision ending school segregation, white America endorses it by almost two to one.

All this is on the positive side. But there is a negative side too. By a two-to-one margin white Americans hold that Negroes are moving "too fast." They accept the idea of demonstrations in general, but strongly object to picketing, boycotts, sit-ins and lie-downs. They support Federal legislation on housing and job opportunity, but President Kennedy's role in racial matters has hurt him significantly with white voters. Whites support "good" housing for Negroes, but they do not want a Negro living next door. Most whites fear and shun social contacts with Negroes, and the reaction on interracial dating and marriage is overwhelmingly negative.

The picture that emerges from the *Newsweek* survey, then, is of a white man confused and uncertain, simultaneously entertaining contradictory convictions and emotions. And the basic reason seems to be that the white man's image of the Negro is itself conflicting and confused. That image is, as *Newsweek* put it, "an implausible and contradictory caricature, half Stepin Fetchit—lazy, unwashed, shiftless, unambitious, slow-moving—and half Sportin' Life—cunning, lewd, flashy, strong, fearless, immoral and vicious."

Are there, in all this, any signs of hope? There is one definite encouraging sign. The hard core of prejudiced whites consists of roughly one out of five. Among the rest, whites who have had social, vocational or educational contacts with Negroes are significantly less prejudiced on almost every issue except intermarriage. For example, while forty-eight percent of whites who have never known a Negro socially would object to their children's bringing a Negro child home to dinner, only seventeen percent of those who have known Negroes would be concerned. Furthermore, younger Americans are clearly less prejudiced than their elders, and this is a hopeful sign.

All of us, it is plain, need more education. But education takes time, and here is the rub. For if one thing emerges clearly from the *Newsweek* study, it is that time is running out. The Negro not only wants equality; he wants it now. And as one Negro put it, "My definition of now is yesterday." That doesn't give the rest of us much leeway.

JAMES O'GARA

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Tax Relief and Mergers Cannot Cure Their Sickness

Saving the Railroads

CLAIBORNE PELL

NEXT YEAR along a stretch of curving seacoast south of Tokyo, a unique railroad will begin covering the three hundred and ten miles between Tokyo and Osaka in only three hours, at a maximum speed of close to one hundred and thirty miles per hour. These trains will be electrically automated to minimize risks. They will travel a brand-new separate high-speed line offering most attractive center-city to center-city service every thirty minutes during the day between the two major cities, with a coordinated limited express geared to serve ten intermediate stops.

Such an imaginative plan is urgently needed for our own troubled rail system. In the northeast, passenger service has become increasingly unprofitable for the two principal rail carriers linked to meet and serve the Boston-to-Washington axis. The Pennsylvania Railroad is currently struggling with deficits. The New York, New Haven & Hartford is in a critical financial condition and has been in receivership since July, 1961. Elsewhere in the country, rail companies are narrowly poised between profit and loss, with the over-all profit percentage for the entire industry little more than two percent.

Tax alleviation has been suggested, and in some cases granted. But neither this nor petitions for merger—now before the Interstate Commerce Commission in complicated multiple form—will provide the ultimate answer. The railroads have simply contracted a sickness that tax relief and mergers cannot fully cure. Modernization is required but it doesn't seem possible without a broad, enlightened plan that promises psychological as well as financial rejuvenation.

The Boston to Washington urban complex embraces a highly mobile population of nearly forty million people in a wide corridor only fifty percent longer than the Tokyo-Osaka area. Adapting American ingenuity to the methods now being pioneered by the Japanese, we could halve the time it takes a rail passenger to go from Boston to Washington. Rails could once again compete with airlines on approximately even terms. By airplane, the New York to Washington trip now takes an hour in flight, plus perhaps as much as two hours in ground connections. By rail, this trip could be made from center-city to center-city in two hours, with the obvious advantages of few or no cancellations for bad weather, and no switching from one mode of conveyance to another.

The overburdening of airlanes and highways alone should prod us into maximum, efficient use of our rail system. City planners warn that the superhighways around our cities are becoming "nooses of concrete" threatening to choke city growth and vitality. It often seems an unquestioned assumption that automobiles will carry most of the travel load in coming generations and new highways eat up the countryside as if there were no alternative. Yet thirty-two lanes of highway are needed to accommodate the same number of people in one hour as can be carried on a single track of rail.

AN ENLIGHTENED new plan involves more than technical skill. The overlapping and competing jurisdictions of various states, cities, and railroads point toward new forms of cooperation as the bases for rejuvenating rail passenger service.

In June of last year, I introduced in the Senate a resolution which would grant Congressional consent to the establishment of a multistate authority to modernize and operate passenger railroad service between Boston to Washington. This led to the establishment of a special Task Force, appointed by President Kennedy, to study the implications of my proposal, and in turn to a further examination now being conducted by the Department of Commerce. Meanwhile, I have reintroduced my Joint Senate Resolution in the present session of Congress and similar action has followed in the House.

Interstate compacts have become increasingly popular, covering such varied concerns as forest fire prevention, law enforcement, conservation and shipping and transportation (as in the New York Port Authority). Last year Congress gave its consent to the Delaware River Basin Commission, a compact including New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware.

These compacts often require strenuous effort. The type I propose must be approved by legislative bodies

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in my own Rhode Island, in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland; by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia; by both Houses of Congress and by the Executive.

No matter how great the effort, however, I am convinced that the results from this investment in railroad modernization can have most instructive application in forming a pattern for other developing megalopolitan areas—in California between Los Angeles and San Francisco; in the Chicago region and eastward to Detroit; in Florida where rapid expansion is taking shape north of Miami.

I BELIEVE in a minimum of federal subsidization. It's often said that the airlines benefit unjustly by Federal funds used in airport construction and that bus lines profit by using publicly-financed roads. It's not my wish to quibble with these points, but definitely we should try to allot burdens and advantages on an equal basis, for this lies at the root of healthy competition and our *raison d'être* as exponents of democratic principles and the capitalistic philosophy.

Under my proposal the railroads would keep their freight service, which is the very backbone of their ability to operate successfully—and the public authority would assume jurisdiction of the unprofitable part of the business: passenger service itself. This is very different from federal governmental ownership or control, and from federal subsidization of private industry, which can create unfair privileges for company stock and bond holders.

The renovation of railroad passenger service through the main channel of our northeast corridor will also mean that freight will move more economically, more competitively, for the companies will be permitted to give it their undivided, creative attention. The mails carried by the railroads will be more rapid.

To finance the undertaking, I propose that the public authority raise an initial sum of at least five hundred million dollars by issuing thirty-year bonds bearing a three and one-half percent coupon. The issue would be guaranteed against default by the full faith and credit of the government. Thus the bonds would have the "Triple A" rating most attractive for marketing; and like many public authority bonds their interest would be exempt from Federal income taxes.

This method of financing would entail tax exemption which no private company can be permitted. The proposed sum is a major one, but if the modernization will attract merely the volume of passenger business the railroads possessed ten years ago—a modest estimate—the proposed bond issue could be retired in thirty years.

In this country we already have railroad cars prepared to travel at nearly the velocity of the Japanese trains. They need only improved tracks. As for the cost: the Japanese undertaking, which entails the construction of a score of major tunnels and bridges, the importation of heavy equipment and surfacing operations along a circuitous route, has been estimated at $458 million. Though the Boston-Washington distance is half again as long, there is no such earth-moving to accomplish. Much of our roadbed is relatively straight and level. The sum I suggest and the cost of the Japanese project might be considered to be in some related balance.

The stagnation of the railroads, with low profits and low spirits spiraling into higher fares, poor revenue and alienation of potential riders, can be arrested if we are willing to recognize that a major action must be taken. Rapid, modern and courteous rail service—complete with, say, dictaphone equipment, secretarial service, conference facilities, telephones, barbers and hairdressers—could be the salvation of our railroads and a immensely productive national investment. But it must be done while the cost of rejuvenation and retooling is still within reason.

Summer Song

So, as these mouths of reddish old tiles
on their warm backbone gasp for breath
one by one in the newly risen sun
stretched across the rooftops,

so I saw them become green last spring
with mossy blossomings born in drouth;
the sun scorched them;
they drank the dew; then winter ice

clipped them. I too am almost the same
with my dried-out back that endures
scorching weights, obdurate frosts
in my empty existence; and made

perhaps for nothing else, I wait for this rebirth:
from the mouths of the dark tiles
repeated along the eaves of the roof,
the sweet words that touch my soul

whisper to me to have patience;
and the shadows of tiles over the roofs,
stairways of color, fantastic and changeable,
repeat it, pleading for patience;

for the sky that is blue today
encourages them to speak and live
and gives voice to those things
that have none when the sun goes down.

CARLO BETOCCHI
Translated by I. L. SALOMON

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End of the Deadlock

GREGORY BAUM

BEFORE giving an account of how, on Wednesday, October 30, the Vatican Council emerged from a deadlock, I must tell how it had drifted into it. For two weeks, while the discussion dealt with Chapters 2 and 3 of *De Ecclesia*, the awful feeling spread among the Council Fathers that they were wasting their time. The Moderators had announced that, after the discussion of Chapter 3 on the hierarchical ministry, four propositions would be submitted to the votes of the Fathers. This was to establish the conviction of the majority and help the bishops to see in which direction the Council was moving.

These four questions, however, soon called "mystery questions" by the press, were never put on the floor. Though we had not read them, we were quite sure that they dealt with the central issue of the whole Council, the collegiality of bishops, that is, the doctrine that the world episcopate, including the pope, forms a body or college which, as successor of the college of the Apostles, holds supreme power in the Church. The opposition to this teaching was strong among the curial cardinals, and a group of them was able to prevent the questions from being put to the Council. No explanation was offered to the Fathers. While the bishops had the highest regard for the Moderators, they were beginning to wonder if they were capable men.

Though the conciliar discussion went well, and though we had the definite impression that the important speeches and the best arguments had been given by the progressive cardinals and bishops, no one was quite sure where the discussion would lead. Could it be that there was no majority in the Council? Could the difference of outlook have divided the Council into two groups of equal strength? Only the votes on the four questions could give the answer.

The general frustration was increased by the story that the Theological Commission, which, under the chairmanship of Cardinal Ottaviani, was responsible for redrafting the document under discussion, was not functioning as it should. It met only once a week, and since issues apparently settled by the conciliar discussion provoked new arguments there, many bishops feared that the Theological Commission was not really trying to formulate the convictions of the Council.

There were other causes of grief. Repetition of arguments on the floor seemed endless. Some of this was surely a healthy sign. Bishops who had just discovered the deep significance of the ancient doctrine of the general priesthood of the faithful became eloquent and enthusiastic about it. They were thrilled about the way in which the Lord has made His Church. But since the speeches of the Fathers had to be handed in several days prior to their delivery, the arguments they contained were often no longer new when read to the assembly, and few bishops know Latin well enough to formulate anew on their feet and omit the points made by preceding speakers.

There were also interventions which did not impress one as very intelligent. The discussion on deacons and the possibility of ordaining married men to the diaconate produced some reactions which were nothing short of ludicrous. Some Fathers claimed that a married diaconate would be a wound in the sacred celibacy of the clergy. One Cardinal declared that clerical celibacy was like a precious garment ever in danger of being unraveled if a single thread came loose—the loose threads in this case being married deacons. No wonder that the bishops were beginning to get fed up.

THEN came the anticlimax of the Marian question. The Theological Commission had prepared a special schema on Our Lady for the first session of the Council. After Pope John had ordered the revision of all the schemas according to the general spirit of the Council and his own directives, the schema on Our Lady was republished without any changes, save the title. The document is a maximal statement of Marian theology. It is a systematic composition of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Marian teaching, supported by the encyclicals of recent popes, in which the theory of Mary's universal mediation and her co-redemption hold a large place, even if the terms are not mentioned. The expressed wish of Pope John and Pope Paul that the Council define no new doctrine was, from the beginning, a heavy weight against this document of the Theological Commission.

At the first session of the Council, voices had already been raised for the integration of Marian teaching in the schema *De Ecclesia*. It was said then—and said

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again many times during the second session—that the task of the Council was not to repeat the defined Marian teaching, but rather to announce Our Lady as belonging to the wider context of the Church, of which she is the pre-eminent member and perfect image. Some of the South American bishops insisted that in their country the task of the Church was to lead people away from a superficial devotion to Mary to the deeper realization that whatever we teach about Our Lady is part of the Christian Gospel of redemption which saves and sanctifies us. Many Fathers believed that the tendency to separate Our Lady from the total history of salvation and to reflect on her prerogatives in isolation from God's saving action among His people should give way to a deeper tendency, beautifully developed in contemporary Catholic theology, of looking upon Mary as the chosen woman, the daughter of Sion, climax of the Old Covenant, the Faithful One in whom Christ has completely triumphed, and the Fully Redeemed One in whom we see the wonderful works which Christ has done, and still will do, for His Church.

Since the official schema on Our Lady displeased large numbers of bishops, several new drafts were unofficially prepared as possible substitutes. Some of these were submitted, with the required number of signatures, to the Secretariat of the Council. Many of the English-speaking bishops supported the schema written by Dom Butler, the Abbot of Downside, which presented Catholic teaching on Mary in terms of the Scriptures and the ancient tradition of the Church. It was a beautiful document which depicted Our Lady as Mother of Christ and Mother of the faithful who with her Son and surrounded by the saints intercedes in Heaven on our behalf and receives our praise and veneration. It presented the Marian teaching of the patristic age which we share with the Eastern Churches and omitted the more recent doctrinal developments regarding the place Our Lady supposedly has in the redemption of the world and the distribution of God's favors.

Another schema was proposed by the bishops of Chile. It also remained within the Marian teaching of the ancient Church, avoided the modern doctrines of universal mediation and co-redemption, and placed special emphasis on Our Lady's relationship to the Church. Since she is the Fully Redeemed One, Mary is the perfect image of what Christ intends to do with His Church. Mary is "the type" of the Church: she is the perfect realization of God's hidden plan for His entire people. Her faith is the sign of the Church's faith; her hope and charity, by which she involved herself in the redemptive mission of her Son, are the sign of the Church's cooperation in extending Christ's redemption among men. Both Our Lady's humble life on earth and her glorious victory in her Assumption are matters which teach us about the meaning of the Church's earthly pilgrimage and of her triumphant resurrection at the end of time. Looked upon in this fashion the special prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin become a meaningful revelation of the present history of salvation to which we in the Church belong.

Other schemas were passed around among the bishops. There was one prepared by the Spanish bishops, another by Father Dhanis, and another by Father Laurentin. In this confusing situation, it was determined that the Council would decide by vote whether Our Lady should be discussed in a separate schema or rather in a chapter of the schema *De Ecclesia*. On Friday, October 25, two long and highly significant speeches were given in the Council hall, one by Cardinal Santos in favor of a separate schema, and the other by Cardinal König in favor of integrating the Marian chapter in *De Ecclesia*. The vote was set for Tuesday, October 29.

THE LONG weekend turned out to be a time of intense propaganda. The matter was taken very seriously by certain circles favoring a separate schema, and it is hard to imagine the excitement with which they carried on their campaign "in favor of Our Lady." Pamphlets by various authors were sent to the bishops, leaflets were distributed on the steps of St. Peter's, talks were given to episcopal groups, and there was constant lobbying. The Italian press joined the campaign by printing unbelievable stories of foreign bishops wishing to tarnish the glories of Mary. Father Balic, one of the authors of the official schema of the Theological Commission, had such good connections that his own advice to the bishops was printed by the Vatican press as a rather official-looking document. The bishops were made to believe that this was a vote "for" or "against" Our Lady.

The vote was taken on Tuesday, and the question was decided in favor of integration by a small margin of forty voices over the required fifty percent. The Council was split over the question of Mary. Yet the conflict seemed so unreal, so artificial, so heavily charged with sentiment, that one wonders whether without the high-pressure campaign the result would not have been different.

Why was the campaign carried on with so much fervor by certain groups? This is a question that must be asked. It seems to me that these circles must have interpreted the issue as a turning point in the development of Marian teaching. Would certain popular trends of the nineteenth and twentieth century in favor of Mary's cooperation in *objective* redemption of mankind reach the level of official Catholic teaching? Or would the renewal of biblical and liturgical piety put a stop to these trends? These ardent groups may well have been right: the vote of Tuesday morning, insignificant though it was in itself, may well turn out to be the

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turning point toward a more biblical and patristic understanding of Our Lady, not indeed by diminishing her role in the Church, but by drawing a more faithful and meaningful picture of her "who believed" and who thereby became the Mother of Christ and the mother of all who believe God's word.

On Tuesday, the Council was divided. Did this mean that it would be divided on all issues? We were not quite certain. On the same day the Moderators finally proposed the mystery questions to the Council. They had overcome, probably with the help of Pope Paul, the opposition behind the scenes. They now asked the Council to pronounce itself on collegiality, the sacramentality of episcopacy, and the role of deacons in the Church. Would the Council turn out to be divided here also?

The next day came, Wednesday, October 30, with no time for propaganda, and the votes produced a strong majority in favor of collegiality and hence of the reform of the Church. Eighty percent of the bishops with their *placets* stood behind the Moderators. They broke the deadlock, and now we know that the Council is not wasting its time. It is indeed moving in a definite direction. The prestige of the Moderators rose immediately, and they will now be able to lead the assembly with more energy and courage. Since Pope Paul wrote a rather outspoken letter to Archbishop Parente of the Holy Office, the Theological Commission has begun to hold more regular meetings, and now that the votes have been taken, the members of this Commission should find it easier to formulate the convictions of the Council.

The American bishops, by concerted action, succeeded in removing the block that had prevented the schema on religious liberty, prepared a long time ago by the Secretariat for Christian Unity, from being printed, and thanks to their pressure there is some likelihood that the schema will soon be in the hands of the Fathers. One may well conclude that the paralysis has ended. When the Council reconvenes after the long weekend of All Saints to discuss the schema on the government of dioceses, the bishops may be introduced to procedural improvements and more efficient working methods.

Though the deadlock has been overcome on what may be the most important day of the second session, considerable problems remain. The Theological Commission is still deeply divided between the men of the reform and those who do not favor the direction taken by the Council and Pope Paul, and one may seriously wonder how it is psychologically possible for such a body to produce a document for the Council where the proportion, according to the last votes, is eighty to twenty in favor of the renewal. I still foresee serious difficulties, and it is to be hoped that eventually the Council will elect eight or ten more bishops as members of the Theological Commission and, perhaps, have all the members elect a new president.

Report from Rome

The Layman Rediscovered

JOHN COGLEY

SINCE THE Ecumenical Council resumed at the end of September, the Fathers have been debating the schema on the Church. Seen one way, *De Ecclesia* might look like the easiest of the Council's themes. After all, the Church is neither a new concept nor a new institution. The greatest theologians of the ages wrote luminously about it. It has continued all through the centuries with an extraordinary sense of self-identification and has been studied by outsiders from every possible angle.

The difficulty is that the Church is situated at the heart of the Christian mystery and can only be finally defined in theological terms. If it were merely a sociological phenomenon, destined to undergo the ups and downs of history and then be doomed to extinction, its meaning could shift with the times. If it were merely the aggregate of its followers, it could be treated as something to be weighed, measured, evaluated, and—to lapse into a latterday jargon—"profiled." But when it is seen as the Fathers of the Council see it, as a mysterious marriage of the human and divine, the temporal and eternal, the sinful and the untouchably holy—in a word, when it is seen as a theological mystery—the ocean of meaning in the simple words *De Ecclesia* becomes unfathomable.

At the Council, the Fathers—the "liberal" majority especially—seem determined to keep that sense of mys-

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tery alive. Anything smacking of the "juridical" or the merely "organizational" is sure to be criticized. In the popular mind, the Church may still be regarded as a simple algebraic of pope-bishops-religious-and-laity, a pyramid of all-powerful authorities at the peak and masses of docile subjects at the base; but the term for it most in vogue at the current session of the Council is the "People of God."

The "People of God" includes all who are baptized in the Church, certainly, and some theologians go further and include sincere believers of whatever denomination. The phrase is not only thoroughly scriptural but most useful. Without in any way threatening the role of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, stress on the "People of God" in discussions about the Church avoids putting any undue emphasis on the clergy or unworthy downgrading of the laity. As Bishop John J. Wright recently told a group of journalists covering the Council—and the Bishop let it be known that he was summarizing what he told the Fathers of the Council earlier in the day—the present mood of the Church is to stress the priesthood of the laity and eliminate every vestige of "clericalism" found among their pastors.

THIS NEW emphasis is not the product of theological novelty or sudden new revelation. It is rooted, rather, in sacramental theology—after all, Baptism, Confirmation, and Marriage do count for something—and has long been familiar to those who read the Scriptures or follow the liturgical texts closely. Still, if it is taken seriously by the Fathers when they get home, it will make a tremendous difference in the daily life of the Church. For the Catholic people, even the most devout, have not really had a sense of "belonging" in the manner suggested by those who talk not of juridical structures and tables of organization but of the "People of God."

By and large, the laity still identify the Church with the clergy alone and see themselves merely as dues-paying associates. What the Church does or does not do is simply equated with what the religious "professionals"—bishops, priests, and religious—do or don't do. For all practical purposes, *they* are the Church. The role of the laity, in such a view of the Church, is simply to provide the "professionals" with the wherewithal to carry on their work, period. In return, the laity are the beneficiaries of all the services offered by the ecclesiastics who look after them.

Wasn't some such idea of the Church as this found in the controversial article Evelyn Waugh wrote for the *National Review* last year? In Mr. Waugh's superb English, it came through as an idyllic picture of pastorly priests and trusting sheep living in sweet Christian order in the midst of a society torn with the spirit of rebelliousness and near-anarchy. Perhaps such a picture is actually justified by Mr. Waugh's experiences. But mine are different.

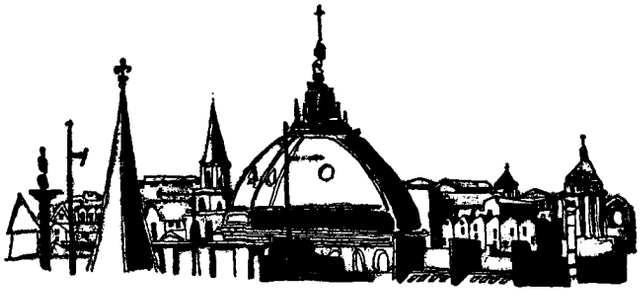
I think the "clerical" image of the Church has been responsible for a great deal of mischief. It has, first of all, resulted in a theology that is too often sealed off from life. The "professionals" have their own special language and style of thought and more often than not talk exclusively to, and about, each other. The sublime doctrines of the Faith, consequently, are frozen into catechetical formulas and repeated by rote, but they never come alive for those who need them. The result is a Christianity left unincarnate in the world.

A good example is found in the case of those who would subscribe loyally to every distinction in the theological manuals but still balk like mules at the social encyclicals. Though these encyclicals represent the attempts of the highest authority in the Church to give flesh and blood to the teachings of the Faith, the common reaction of such people is that their prescriptions amount to the unworthy invasion of theology into the "real world"—where, apparently, it does not belong.

A similar feeling is expressed by those who hold that the Church is acting improperly in the current racial crisis. "Why doesn't the Church mind its business and preach religion?" is a common complaint among them. "The Church" they thereby equate with the clergy alone, not themselves, and "religion" with remote, metaphysical concepts, not the actual world they live in.

A SECOND unfortunate aspect of the "clerical" image comes to mind when one thinks of the people who have left the Church because "it"—a nun in a classroom, a priest in a confessional, or a bishop in a chancery office—acted unwisely, unfairly, or merely imprudently. The world is full of such people. At the base of their apostasy was the notion that, in rejecting the arrogance or stupidity or incivility they found among clerics, they were rejecting the Church. If they had been taught to identify the Church with Christ and His people, including themselves, they might not have behaved as they did. But they were too ignorant to do so, and in most cases are forever lost to the Church. Their failure strikes me as more a failure of theological intelligence than as a lapse of moral rectitude.

A third aspect is exemplified in the low estate of what is airily called "lay spirituality," as if there were two Gospels, one for the "professionals" and another for associate members. Of course there is every indication



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in Scripture that the Lord preached the same to all, but somehow the idea got abroad in Catholic circles that the pursuit of sanctity was a specialized calling for professionals only.

Certainly most laymen are not truly convinced the call for saints in the New Testament's pages is directed to them. And no wonder. Most "spiritual books" seem to be written with only monastic readers in mind. How many lay people long ago gave up reading them because they seem so remote from everyday concerns like raising a family, running a business, earning a living, or participating in political life. Even among the laymen I have known, some who felt a strong call to a higher life were convinced that they should withdraw to monastic-type communities and carry on their lives as far as possible from the contamination of the "world." Feeding on a diet of spiritual books primarily directed to monks and nuns, they convinced themselves that life in the world was "distracting."

All this may be changed if the present mood of the Ecumenical Council persists. Respect for the layman's vocation and his role in the Church has been characteristic of all the discussions about the Church. The bishops have reminded themselves again and again during their prolonged debates that the notion of a laity (a "holy people") is not a negative concept meaning non-competent, but that the laity are an important component in the People of God. While reaffirming that priestly powers are conferred only by the Sacrament of Holy Orders, the bishops have also put unusual stress on the Sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation, which confer a kind of secondary priesthood on the man-in-the-pew. Some speakers, in addition, have recalled the half-forgotten Catholic teaching on Charism and underscored the point that laymen may as easily as clerics receive these special spiritual gifts for the benefit of the Church.

Of course it always rests with the bishops to "test the spirit" where charisms are concerned, but one or another Father of the Council has reminded his brother bishops of their obligation not to resist or prevent a work that might be the result of such a direct-line inspiration. "The Spirit bloweth where It wist." In view of the fact that quite a few of the bishops attending the Council belong to religious orders and congregations which were founded by laymen, the point is easily grasped.

THE TALK about the laity is so soundly theological that one might wonder why certain bishops still find it disconcerting. Whenever it comes up, one American Ordinary told the U. S. press panel, some of his brethren become visibly nervous. Why? I believe, first of all, that it is really news to some of the Council Fathers. Having received their education in a thoroughgoing clerical environment, they never gave much thought to the theological claims of the layman. Certainly some interpreted pre-Council stirrings in the Church along this line as incipient rebellion.

As the Council has progressed, one or another bishop has repeatedly proclaimed the well-known fact (well-known to the Fathers of the Council above all) that authority in the Church rests with the pope and the hierarchy—as if, in reassessing the position of the layman, the Council might lose sight of this fact. There is clearly a concern among such bishops that an idea like the "priesthood of the laity" is too dangerous to be freely bruited about. But this seems to be an unnecessary worry. To cite Bishop Wright again, the laity have no designs on episcopal authority; in fact, only a few of them have anything like a full appreciation of their role in the Church, or what contribution they are called upon to make.

In addition, though the spirit of the Counter-Reformation has been fairly well exorcised in the Council, thanks to Pope John, for a few the memory of how the doctrine of universal priesthood was misinterpreted by the Reform still hangs on. They feel, consequently, that there is a doctrinal point at stake in playing down the concept of the People of God. But others are persuaded that there is an equally significant doctrinal point—as well as a pastoral advantage—at stake in clearly defining the role of the laity. And the latter seem to be in the majority.

Finally, among the Council Fathers there are men who simply do not have a theological turn of mind. Their concerns run much more toward the practical. If they find themselves a little uneasy when the laity are given much theological attention, it is because they see lurking in the shadows what they still think of as "interference."

This mentality, represented by the American bishop who forbids any vocal participation of the laity in the liturgy because it distracts the priest when he is saying "his" Mass, is not absent at this remarkable gathering of Council Fathers. But even ecclesiastics that cut off from the living thought of the Church can not help but be informed by the Council proceedings. After all, they are listening to ideas from which they were often carefully shielded in their own chancery offices; and they are hearing them not from suspect laymen or odd-ball theologians but from their own peers. They are being educated.

Now who will educate the laity? The other day I heard a bishop, not an American, say that if he goes back home and tells his people what he has heard at the Council, they will think he has lost his faith. The same may be true of most American bishops. For, though there are still laggards among the bishops, by and large they are now ahead of their own clergy, and the vast majority of laymen are trailing far, far behind them.

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THE STAGE

Albee's Sad "Ballad"

"THE BALLAD of the Sad Cafe" is a failure for which it is strangely difficult to assign responsibility, since its deficiencies are spread uniformly throughout its structure and procedures, nowhere presenting a surface of radical blunder and never suggesting a clear, redeeming alternative. Edward Albee's adaptation of the Carson McCullers' novella neither injures the original nor conducts it into an inevitable new existence; Alan Schneider's direction is neither stultifying nor liberating; the cast for the most part goes about its business with the utmost professional capacity and not a gesture more. The experience of the onlooker is therefore that of being present at some perfunctory rite whose need to be performed at all has never been established.

You come, finally, to accept the evening's pervasive shroudedness and lack of urgency as the latest proof that it is nearly impossible to convert fiction to the stage. Mr. Albee has done as well as anyone could expect, going prudently about his work, producing neither a vulgarization nor a perversion, but not being able to produce a viable drama either. The laws, beauties, energies and weights of fiction are not those of drama, and to be true to one form is inevitably to be unfaithful to the other.

Miss McCullers wrote a fable about the violence and enigmas of love whose problematic soundness of vision was rescued by its lyric and even elegaic beauty and its oblique, mysterious quality of legend. Her central theme is that there is a discrepancy and tension between lover and beloved in every relationship, since the needs of each are different and in some way incommensurable, and her subsidiary motif is the particular refractoriness of heterosexual love and its consequent besiegement by the temptation of homosexuality. Underlying her story of a gigantic, powerful, masculine woman who shuns marriage, fastens her deflected love upon a charming but selfish hunchback, and is betrayed by him, are moods of alienation, loneliness, the terrors and ambiguities of sexuality and the destructive violence that stems from the need for possession opposed by a countervailing need to remain free.

Mr. Albee has followed almost exactly the main outlines of this narrative. Yet to get his play into motion and keep its source meanings and implications from floating out of reach of its actions, he has resorted to a narrator who speaks all those essential passages of Miss McCullers that simply cannot be ignored or for which equivalents cannot be found in movement or dialogue. And the effect of this device—without which, admittedly, it does not seem possible to imagine the play's being feasible at all—is to prevent it from becoming more than minimally dramatic, to keep it wavering between a tale told and an action performed.

When Roscoe Lee Browne (in splendid voice and grave, minnesinger's manner, be it said) steps out on the single set, with its dominating clapboard-house-wall which will slide back to reveal actions within, and intones "The Ballad of the Sad Cafe . . . the beginning," we are instantly in search of an armchair. From then on, whenever it appears that we might escape it, he returns to thrust us back down again with "We are going back in time now . . ." or "This is a night of terrible importance . . ." or "What happened at that moment was not ordinary."

Albee has also filled out certain elements of the novel, especially those sections which deal with the woman's hatred of her husband of three days, and his despair, and later rage, in the face of her refusal to consummate the marriage. He has made a great many things more explicit than Miss McCullers needed to do, with the result that while most of his invented scenes work in themselves they tend to hack away at the resonant mystery of her book. Leaving nothing to chance, Albee has left almost nothing to the imagination.

Beyond this, his language is scarcely ever possessed of the edge and wit we have come to expect from his own plays. An exchange like this—"Why are they going to kill each other?" "Because they know each other"—is pure Albee, though not inimical to Miss McCullers. But it is isolated in a prevailing vocabulary of flat and tame utterance and counteracted by a kind of contrived folk expression that at times comes close to being embarassing. "Be ye hungry?" "I be." "Be that Marvin Macy?" "Land good to have . . . timber good to have." A little more of that sort of thing and the play could have been moved from a Southern town to a Cherokee reservation.

But the operating sin is not contrivance or misguided singularity or a raid on local color; it is the refusal of life. It has been suggested that had the performance of its central character been better the play might have picked itself up, and it is true that Coleen Dewhurst, upon whose broad shoulders the work ultimately rests, is not able to carry the load. An actress of great immediate impact and commanding presence, she comes on too soon with everything she will later do, fails to develop, fails to create surprise or complexity and fails, ultimately, to contain the wars and contradictions which Miss McCullers' creation incarnated. Yet a better performance on her part or someone else's would not have been decisive, since the work secretes a self-incarcerating and self-emasculating atmosphere which nothing short of an entirely new conception and technical apparatus could dispel.

The failure of "The Ballad of the Sad Cafe" is perfectly reflected in the failure of its climactic scene, the savage, ruthless fist fight and wrestling match between the woman and her estranged husband. That is, it is sup-

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posed to be savage and ruthless, but as Mr. Schneider has staged it and Miss Dewhurst and Lou Antonio perform it, it resembles nothing so much as a fight in one of those early Westerns before it was learned how to stage such scenes realistically. The combatants paw the air, grasp each other gingerly and make almost no sound when they do strike blows. It goes without saying that a scene like this, particularly with a woman as one of its figures, is hard or impossible to do well on the stage. But if you add this to the basic fact that any good novel is almost impossible to do well on the stage, it leaves you at an even greater loss to understand why this one was attempted in the first place. (*At the Martin Beck*)

RICHARD GILMAN

THE SCREEN

Of Death and Love

JAMES Agee's beautifully-written novel, *A Death in the Family,* starts with "We are talking now of summer evenings in Knoxville, Tennessee in the time that I lived there so successfully disguised to myself as a child," and then goes on in chapter after chapter to tell the story of six-year-old Rufus and his father and his mother and his family and his friends. "All the Way Home," the movie based on this book and Tad Mosel's play, may not have the depth or lyrical quality of Agee's prose (what film could have?) but it is an excellent movie in its own right and one worthy to stir the minds and hearts of even the toughest moviegoers.

The picture's beginning follows Agee's intentions so well, as it establishes the bond between little Rufus and his father, that the rest of the movie falls naturally into place; and not even the sentimental touches or the grim details of "the death in the family" can destroy the continuity of the fascinating tale. On this summer evening in 1915 Knoxville, Rufus and papa are howling with laughter in their happy companionship as they watch a Charlie Chaplin comedy. The warm camaraderie continues as they walk down the street talking father-son talk, stop at a bar where papa has a drink and Rufus a cracker, stop again at their secret looking-and-talking place near the railroad tracks, and then amble on home where mama, somewhat cross at their lateness and papa's drinking, is only partly placated by papa's playful apology: "It was such a soft night, we had to count leaves."

In this, his first movie, seven-year-old Michael Kearney gives an amazing performance as the sensitive, inquiring Rufus. No doubt director Alex Segal deserves major credit for Master Kearney's stirring portrayal, but the boy himself merits some applause for his success in putting over the various moods—awe on his visit to his venerable great-great-grandmother, questioning and resentment at his father's death, anger at the minister who comes to console his mother, enjoyment of his Aunt Hannah, and love and understanding as he grows in wisdom during the bereavement.

Alex Segal has directed his whole cast well, especially Robert Preston who gives one of his best performances as the drinking, non-religious but big-hearted father and husband, and Aline MacMahon who is absolutely perfect as his wife's aunt. If Jean Simmons is a little too floundering as the stern, puritanical wife and mother, the fault may be due to the role itself. Outstanding in supporting parts are Pat Hingle, as Preston's brother who hates his work as an undertaker and then is angered at his sister-in-law for not allowing him to conduct the funeral, John Cullum as Jean's sympathetic brother, Thomas Chalmers as her wise father, and many others in smaller roles who add to the excellence of the whole production.

David Susskind has given "All the Way Home" a first-rate production—with this good cast, the carefully-written script by Phillip Reisman, Jr., and Boris Kaufman's black-and-white photography that is done with almost-loving concern for the people and place. Much of the picture was photographed in Knoxville, and its settings and costumes and episodes have a captivating nostalgic quality—looking backward is much of the charm of the film. Perhaps the movie gets a little too weepy after the father's sudden death in an auto accident and perhaps the sentiment gets thick, but the warm theme with its insistence on continuity in spite of death and the touch of the father that shows up in the boy in the finale scenes are heart-warming and affirmative. The picture may not have Agee's poetic glow, but it has a cinematic glow of its own.

AUDIENCES at the recent New York Film Festival may have been a little surprised when "All the Way Home" was shown as one of the American entries. Avant garde festival films don't usually go in for warmth and sentiment. At the opposite pole from "All the Way Home" is a Festival entry from France: "Muriel." Directed by New-Waver Alain Resnais, "Muriel" has all the requirements of a Festival film—plus ambiguity. In fact, "Muriel" has so much ambiguity that it's almost impossible to tell what Resnais is aiming at. I don't mean the kind of purposeful vagueness that pervaded his two earlier films, "Hiroshima, My Love" and "Last Year at Marienbad," both of which made the viewer work but were so skillful in setting up a remembrance or un-remembrance of things past that they were well worth the effort.

In telling the story of a widow (Delphine Seyrig) and her former lover (Jean-Pierre Kerien) with whom she's trying to rekindle past flames, and another story of her step-son (Jean-Baptiste Thieree) who is oppressed

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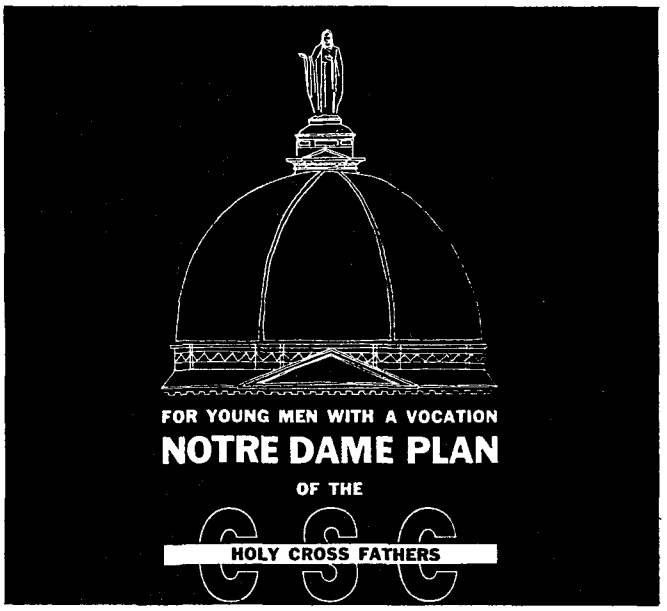

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by a disturbing episode in the Algerian war, "Muriel" introduces so many tangents and completely inexplicable details that the entire thing never adds up to a whole. The cast is good and the color photography is outstanding, but "Muriel" is a jig-saw puzzle with more pieces than the finished work has room for, and the left-over pieces will drive the viewer batty.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

CORRESPONDENCE

"The New Pluralism"

Uniondale, N. Y.

TO THE EDITORS: I wish to record some uneasiness with Daniel Callahan's "The New Pluralism" [September 6], and I hope this uneasiness is the product neither of romanticism, nostalgia, nor of anxiety in facing the emerging neutral state. I should say at the outset that I am at one with Mr. Callahan's central thesis, which is, as it seems to me, in its most terse form, that secularity can serve freedom—or put somewhat more lengthily, that the genuinely neutral state assures the equality of religious opinions before the law; brings it about that no citizen is considered deviate from any civic norm or any less American because he is Jewish, Agnostic, Buddhist, Muslim, or Christian; insures that no one religious point of view, however minimal, receives the official support of the governing agencies in society.

I found, however, at least one difficulty with this view; namely, that ethical norms and therefore many legal statutes ground themselves ultimately in a religious point of view. Until now in this country that religious view has been the Judaeo-Christian. Does the pluralism of the future mean that the law shall sanction abortion and euthanasia, permit the polygamy of the Muslim, the self-immolation of the Buddhist? If these practices are not considered detrimental in some societies, by what standard shall they be considered detrimental in a future neutral American society, where all "values" are reflected? Are there no irreducibly minimal spiritual convictions necessary for the good life? Can the state be without metaphysical foundations? In this view of things where does neutrality end and complete relativism begin?

My especial uneasiness comes when Mr. Callahan divides American Catholics into two camps: those who want from the state aid, comfort, props, privilege, honors, favor, deference, exemptions, homage, and public recognition for religion—and those who don't, who want only freedom for religion. In the former category, says Mr. Callahan, are practically all American Catholics, who revealed themselves by their practically unanimous criticism of the prayer and Bible-reading decisions of the Supreme Court. In the latter category is Mr. Callahan (he does not cite his Catholic supporters),

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who is pointing out a realistic, creative approach to the emerging neutral state. It seems to me that no more cavalier dismissal of reasoned Catholic opinion on an important issue has ever been made.

If it be granted that some hoary churchmen have mounted clichés, it does not follow that the generally negative Catholic reaction to these Supreme Court decisions is a result of weddedness to the past, or of a felt need for those manifold assistances from the state mentioned above. It can and should be defended precisely on the grounds of freedom, human dignity, and the rights of conscience, since the Court has come down on us, in the sphere of education, with a distinct philosophical creed, one that Mr. Callahan says he finds little in evidence; namely, that "religion be relegated to the private, personal and subjective recesses of men's hearts. . . ." It seems to me—and I would like enlightenment if I'm wrong—that this is the present, stated position of the Supreme Court on religion in education; that this is the exact position of many educational philosophers in our country, who advocate, as uniquely American, what they call a "democratic" education, by which they mean an educative process that presents no one religious or ethical viewpoint as the true one.

The following passages, found in the Bible-reading decision, reflect this point of view, which could be widely documented: ". . . public schools are organized 'on the premise that secular education can be isolated from all religious teaching so that the school can inculcate all needed temporal knowledge and also maintain a strict and lofty neutrality as to religion. The assumption is that in worldly wisdom he will be better fitted to choose his religion'. . . . The place of religion in our society is an exalted one, achieved through a long tradition of reliance on the home and the church and the inviolable citadel of the individual heart and mind."

It seems to me that the generally negative Catholic reaction to these decisions—whether that reaction was emotional mutter or articulate criticism—has been based on the intuitive realization that the Court has not at all arrived at a neutral stance in a pluralist society, but that it has taken the position that there is no need for pluralism in public education, that it is an inadmissible concept, the possibility of which is not even considered. The buried face of freedom here is the view that secular knowledge, religious knowledge, and religious commitment can be pursued concomitantly in a school, and that such a philosophy of education is just as American, democratic and supportable as any other. Is it fair to say that Catholics are clinging desperately to a sacral society, seeking favors from the state, timorously confronting the emerging neutral state when they observe that the protection of one inviolable freedom appears to lead to the painful tethering of another?

Justice Stewart struck to the heart of the matter when he said that neutrality is violated when a "compulsory state educational system so structures a child's life that religious exercises [or religious instruction] are held to be an impermissible activity in schools [and] religion is placed at an artificial and state-created disadvantage"; when the government supports the "beliefs of those who think that religious exercise should be conducted only in private." This is the crux of the matter, and it seems that Mr. Callahan has not even given it a toss. American Catholics have been unhappy about these decisions not because they wish to limit anyone's freedom, but because they are not at all sure, on balance, how great an advance for freedom has been made.

(Rev.) DANIEL S. HAMILTON

P.S. And as my special creative gift (not really new) to post-prayer-decision America, I suggest that all students in public schools be permitted, on an elective basis, a four-period-a-week course in the objective study of their own (or any other) religious heritage, to be given by teachers approved by the religious denominations concerned and the public-education authorities, through the use of textbooks approved for their general approach both by a committee appointed by the national leaders of all religious groups interested in such a project and by the authorities in public education.

The Hidden Christ

I went into the Christmas cave.
There was no Child upon the straw.
The ox and ass were all I saw.

I sought His table where He gave
His goodness in the guise of bread.
Emptiness came to me instead.

Filled with my father's words, I cried,
"Where hast Thou hid Thyself?" and all
The living answered to my call.

I found Him (and the world is wide)
Dear in His warm ubiquity.
Where heart beat, there was Christ for me.

I went back to the Christmas cave,
Glad with the gain of everywhere,
And lo! the blessed Child was there.

Then at His feasting board He gave
Embrace. He multiplied His good
And fed in me the multitude.

JESSICA POWERS

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The Decline and Fall of Bert Flax, Self-Deceiver

The Hack. By Wilfrid Sheed. Macmillan. $4.95.

by William Esty

WILFRID SHEED writes wryly intelligent novels about frauds—men who are terribly "sane" in a dreadful way, men who back away from their feelings and flee sincerity like a plague, who take care that their self-confrontations are always partial and ironical. His first novel, *A Middle Class Education*, told the story of John Chote, one of those *déraciné*, up-from-the-lower-middle-class Englishmen who get into Oxford, major in glibness, and then don't quite know how gainfully to employ their expensively acquired snottiness. It was full of good needed observations; of Oxford undergraduates, for instance, he wrote: "Behind the dense smog of jesting they could be huskily modest in the best English tradition, and painstakingly unaccomplished." Mr. Sheed's honorable aspiration is to write in the tradition of the English novel of social comedy.

His new book, *The Hack*, recounts the nervous and moral breakdown of Bertram Flax, "a leading spiritual hack" who makes his suburban living writing "pious rubbish" for American Catholic journals with names like *The Tiny Messenger*. Bert is a pro: "He could look at the gray snow . . . and write about white snow; look at the jagged wastes and write about downy blankets. That was what professionalism meant." But as the Christmas season gets under way, everything starts to go wrong. He feels himself invaded by a cancerous boredom; his faith wobbles. Doubts erupt fitfully as blasphemies. The magazines he counts on to support his large family begin rejecting his stuff. On Christmas Day he finally collapses into a state of inertia and silence.

The first of the novel's ironies makes its appearance as the panicky journalist spills his "negative thoughts" in the confessional: the priest advises him to look up a piece by Bert Flax. Next, the priest-editor of *The Passenger* rejects an article by this man who has made his living off the meretriciousness of American Catholic popular culture, and who has himself contributed fulsomely to that culture, on the grounds that the piece is insufficiently "sincere."

Now the ironies pelt down thick and fast. It turns out that Father Chubb, the apparently bovine editor who has printed Bert's "gush" for years, has all along despised him for his "grammar-school level" grasp of the faith and for his "simony." Bert's blasphemies send his old school pal Gilhouley, a Morningside Heights lapsed Catholic, back to the Church. Gilhouley's reconversion in turn infuriates Bert, speeding his disintegration. And finally, it is hinted that Bert's collapse will itself precipitate the conversion of his Protestant wife to a Catholicism far more honest than his own has ever been. As Mr. Sheed might say: ah there, Graham Greene!

The real central figure—the villain—of *The Hack* is popular American Catholicism at its dead-level commonest: smarmy, mindless, vulgar and hollow. Mr. Sheed loathes it, both morally (it is dishonest) and esthetically (it is ugly), as any intelligent, sensitive Catholic must. Unfortunately Mr. Sheed's angry clarity of conviction issues as fictional cloudiness. Too many of the characters' lines are too obviously his own. Too many intentions are blurry. What is Bert Flax's attitude toward his hack work? Sometimes it seems that, until his faith became shaky, he believed that his writing was quite decent, the expression of moments of genuine religious inspiration. This makes him a goodhearted dope. At other points it seems that Flax is a pretty acute fellow who has always judged his own prose accurately but has justified it pragmatically. It is hard to believe that a man who could write the following, could also have unself-critically churned out inanities for years:

" 'Propositions:

'(1) Intellect. All right, if you happen to be called St. Thomas. Otherwise, better leave it alone.

'(2) Emotion. Very, very bad. Untrustworthy—unless you happen to be somebody's dear old Irish grandmother, in which case your emotions are worth a hundred eminent theologians laid end to end.

'(3) Will. Very, very good. But wait a minute, not the way you think. Not Nietzschean will, not willful will, good heavens no. The will to submit is the ticket, to obey, to avoid bad movies . . .' "

Again, take Flax's wife Betty. Now she is represented as having, at least for a while, thought her husband's writing quite good. Now she is shown as thinking herself inadequate to judge it. And now, in an improbable dialogue with a priest-editor, she is revealed as having known all along that Bert's work was "late Victorian junk."

What spoils *The Hack* is Mr. Sheed's insufficiently controlled desire to belabor the execrable. Look, he says, at this "good," "sane" man, Bert Flax: this pillar of the Church is a blasphemer of sacred things, he sullies the Church by making of God a four-cents-a-word commodity, he sullies his own emotions by pretending to more faith than he has. Mr. Sheed pounds away at that in American Catholicism which would accept shoddy work and thought because, falsely, the shoddy is believed to "do good." Bert Flax (lax, flaccid Catholicism) is pummeled altogether too much, by his wife, by Father Chubb, by the author. Toward the end, *The Hack* becomes more and more a sermon, with Mr. and Mrs. Flax, the mother-in-law, the priest, all helping deliver it. Like many crusaders in a good cause, Mr. Sheed is loath to let others speak to any point but his own.

As noted before, Mr. Sheed is ambitious to join the ranks of those who carry on the great heritage of the English comic novel. Now that *The Hack* is off his chest, perhaps he will keep his characters on less tight a rein. Mr. Sheed is an eminently reasonable novelist, but a too-

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insistent reasonableness can be, in art, a hobbling caution. The writer can turn ventriloquist. Or too much can be assigned to overt comment and explanation. Huxley, Waugh, Amis, in their hilarious ways, Powell and Henry Green in quieter ways, all know how to release the magic, suddenly expanding bubble of pure comedy: the bubble bursts in a joyous explosion of the preposterous, the outrageous, the mad. Nothing fatigues like the "funny" book unless, at some point, the contraption soars.

Mr. Sheed has excellent equipment for the part he wishes to fill—intelligence, observation, wit. So one makes a quite unreasonable demand on him: please write us an unreasonably funny book.

Young Fogies?

They'd Rather Be Right: Youth and the Conservative Movement. By Edward Cain. Macmillan. $5.95.

by William Dunphy

WE HAVE heard much recently about a conservative revival on the nation's campuses. Public opinion polls and even Fidel Castro are predicting Senator Goldwater as the Republican nominee in 1964. To many Americans, however, the word "conservative" conjures up images of Bible-thumping Southern racists and "little old ladies in tennis shoes" from the John Birch Society. The complexities of American conservatism escape most of us. No wonder today's moderate conservative gets just as irritated at being called a "John Bircher" as did his liberal counterpart in the fifties at being called a "pinko."

Within the limited scope of this book, Edward Cain gives us a reasonably complete summary of the many varieties of American conservatism together with their impact on youth. He engages us in a running commentary that is both generous and fair and not without its share of humor.

Quoting Buckley's "Who will nail the thesis on Communism's church door? Chester Bowles?", author Cain remarks, "Despite a mouthful of nails, Mr. Buckley hammers home his point with the clarity of Demosthenes." Buckley's admitted excellence as a debater prompts Cain to note that, unlike other forms of dialogue in which some attempt is made to discover truth, a debater engages in a war of Right versus Wrong in which nothing short of unconditional surrender is thinkable.

This book traces the genesis of American conservatism from its 18th and 19th century European forebears and clarifies the current cleavage between the "libertarians" stemming from the Manchester liberals and the "traditionalists" like Russell Kirk who are fond of quoting Edmund Burke.

There are also probing profiles of individual conservative leaders. The "nimble electicism" of novelist Ayn Rand's new philosophy of "objectivism" is capably explored. Its thoroughly un-Christian egoism is summed up in the sacred oath of one of her fiction heroes, John Galt of *Atlas Shrugged*—"I swear—by my life and my love of it—that I will never live for the sake of another man, nor ask another man to live for mine."

William Buckley's meteoric rise to spokesman for a youthful segment of conservatism is traced from the 1951 publication of his *God and Man at Yale*. In spite of his archindividualism in economic matters Buckley once wrote: "Where reconciliation of an individual's and the government's interests cannot be achieved, the interests of the government shall be given exclusive consideration." Dr. Cain wonders, "How's that for *laissez-faire*?"

The excellent chapter on Robert Welch and the growth of the John Birch Society is flawed by being two and a half years out of date. First national notice of the Society came early in 1961, and what conservatives like to call the "liberal press" ran article after article sounding the alarm about this new danger from the right. Most conservative spokesmen were caught off guard and took defensive positions. Dr. Cain here quotes only these early reactions in relating Goldwater and Buckley to the Society. A similar comment is in order for his quoting the famous 1960 letter of Cardinal Cushing that unhesitatingly endorsed it.

The basic paternalism of many conservatives is exemplified in Sena-

"The peasants in the pews are fast becoming a vanishing historical residue"*

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tor Goldwater's reasons for preferring private charity over public welfare, for, he notes, "both the giver and the receiver understand that charity is the product of the humanitarian impulses of the giver, not the due of the receiver."

The whole spectrum of conservative figures and organizations are judged by Dr. Cain in terms of their appeal to American conservative youth. Ayn Rand is seen as attracting those who are sure of their talents and who despise what she calls "second-handers" dependent on a welfare state. While highbrow conservative students consider Buckley too brash, his vivacious anti-Communism "meets student requirements by being relatively urbane and witty, definitely aggressive, usually sarcastic, and always appearing to know the score." The young conservative's overwhelming favorite, however, is Senator Goldwater. According to Cain, they "want to believe the capitalist folk myths about success and virtue," and "Goldwater makes it easier." The moderate conservatism of such writers as Peter Viereck and Clinton Rossiter is rejected by most students as flirting too closely with liberalism. Robert Welch and most of the religious fundamentalists get little support on campus.

The most interesting chapters in the book, however, are those devoted entirely to the young conservatives themselves, their organizations, publications and opinions. The Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, founded in 1953, has fathered a number of student conservative publications more sophisticated than its own *Individualist*. Dr. Cain judges the *New Individualist Review* at the University of Chicago to be the best of these. He tells of an early feud its student editor had with William Buckley whose foreign policy the editor likened to "the heroics of a barroom drunk who proudly boasts that he can lick any man in the room."

The newer and more energetic Young Americans for Freedom put the emphasis decidedly on action rather than academic discussions of conservative principles. YAF has staged rallies in New York's Madison Square Garden, spent tens of thousands of dollars challenging the leadership of the National Students Association, and set up picket lines at the drop of a hat. Political expediency is skillfully practiced. In organizing the 1962 withdrawal of the University of Oklahoma from the NSA on the grounds that it was a subversive organization, one national director of YAF is alleged to have told a group of Oklahoma conservatives that "even though we know NSA is not Communist, we can use this as a whisper campaign to beat them."

One basic fact to be remembered in all talk of a conservative revolt on campus is the regrettably large percentage of students (estimates range from 80 to 90 percent) who are politically apathetic. It is perhaps true that the conservative percentage of politically aware and active students is increasing. But the consistent opposition of campus conservatives to those contemporary movements appealing to student idealism—they sneeringly labeled the Peace Corps the Kiddie Korps and questioned the propriety of sit-ins and Freedom Rides—raises the question as to their prospects for future growth. A Goldwater candidacy in 1964 with a full-blown airing before students of conservative-liberal differences might provide an answer.

The Requiem

The Terezin Requiem. By Josef Bor. Knopf. $3.50.

by David I. Segal

TEREZIN was a Czech ghetto which was used, during the last year of the Nazi regime, as an assembly camp; Jews were stored there before being moved to death camps. Here Raphael Schachter rehearsed and performed Verdi's Requiem, first for the other prisoners, then for the Nazi officials (including Eichmann, who was visiting). It took Schachter eighteen months of rehearsals to prepare the performance, because soloists and members of the chorus had to be replaced as they were taken off to be killed. All this happened, and it is the basis of Josef Bor's novel, *The Terezin Requiem.*

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The fact of the concert is more significant than the book. It was a heroic act; it has a symbolic effect. And it has something to say about the current controversy centering around Hannah Arendt's book about the Eichmann trial. Miss Arendt asserts that more resistance on the part of the Jews would have saved more lives.

A persuasive article by Norman Podhoretz in the September *Commentary* argues the reverse. His position is that "the final solution" was basic to Nazi ideology, and Hitler would have used all the manpower necessary to get the job done, despite the military situation. Probably no amount of Jewish resistance, by itself, would have materially affected the tragic outcome. To accept this is to resolve the practical question.

But the idea of heroism is not related to the idea of consequences. If St. George had been eaten by the dragon he would be no less heroic. "Poetry makes nothing happen," wrote Auden in a poem praising a poet. The Requiem was not performed to make something happen.

Something in the very nature of those Jews reacted to the hell of Hitler's world, causing a masterpiece of human behavior. One embarrasses oneself, sitting at a typewriter in a Manhattan apartment, prescribing heroism to the dead. Heroism, like saintliness, by definition, cannot be demanded, but must be adored when it occurs. The events described in *The Terezin Requiem* constituted profound resistance to the Nazis—spirit rising up, using art, another aspect of itself, in order to answer anti-spirit.

DONALD BRANDON

Associate Professor, Political Science

University of San Francisco

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But these reflections are engendered by the event, not by Bor's telling of it. Because that is all Bor does—he tells the story. The publisher, probably aware that this is neither a work of the imagination nor a piece of non-fiction calls it a "narrative," which, in its imprecision, precisely places the book. The best one can say for Bor is that the amount of fiction he has added to the facts does not disturb the purity of the events he is recounting. The worst is that he has imposed no informing sensibility on his material. "Here is the raw material," he might say, "I leave the rest to your imagination."

Not only is there no context, there are no characters. Schachter is merely the embodiment of an obsession, and the others are less than that. Yet, there is an element that almost makes up for the lack of people. Somehow Verdi's Requiem itself takes on the life the characters themselves lack.

As it takes shape under Schachter's direction, as he finds the people for the roles, and puts the parts together, the Requiem, the need for the Requiem performed in one particular way, all combine and become the Idea of the Requiem. This odd life cycle: conception, rehearsal, performance, is very well done and extremely moving. But it is really all there is, and its very excellence makes the reader crave more. One hungers particularly for language. What we have is better than average translator's English. But even at its best, translator's English bears the same relation to writing that radio announcer's diction does to speech.

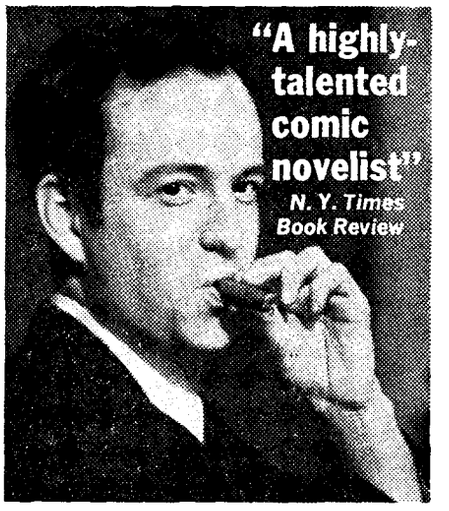
But finally, after all the critic's caveats and quibbles, all the missed opportunities, one thing must be emphasized. This little book tells a mighty story, and one which should be read.

REVIEWERS

William Esty has written for the *Nation*, the *New Republic* and the N. Y. *Times Book Review*, among others.

William Dunphy is a member of the Department of Philosophy at Fordham University.

David I. Segal is an editor in a New York publishing house and a frequent contributor to these pages.



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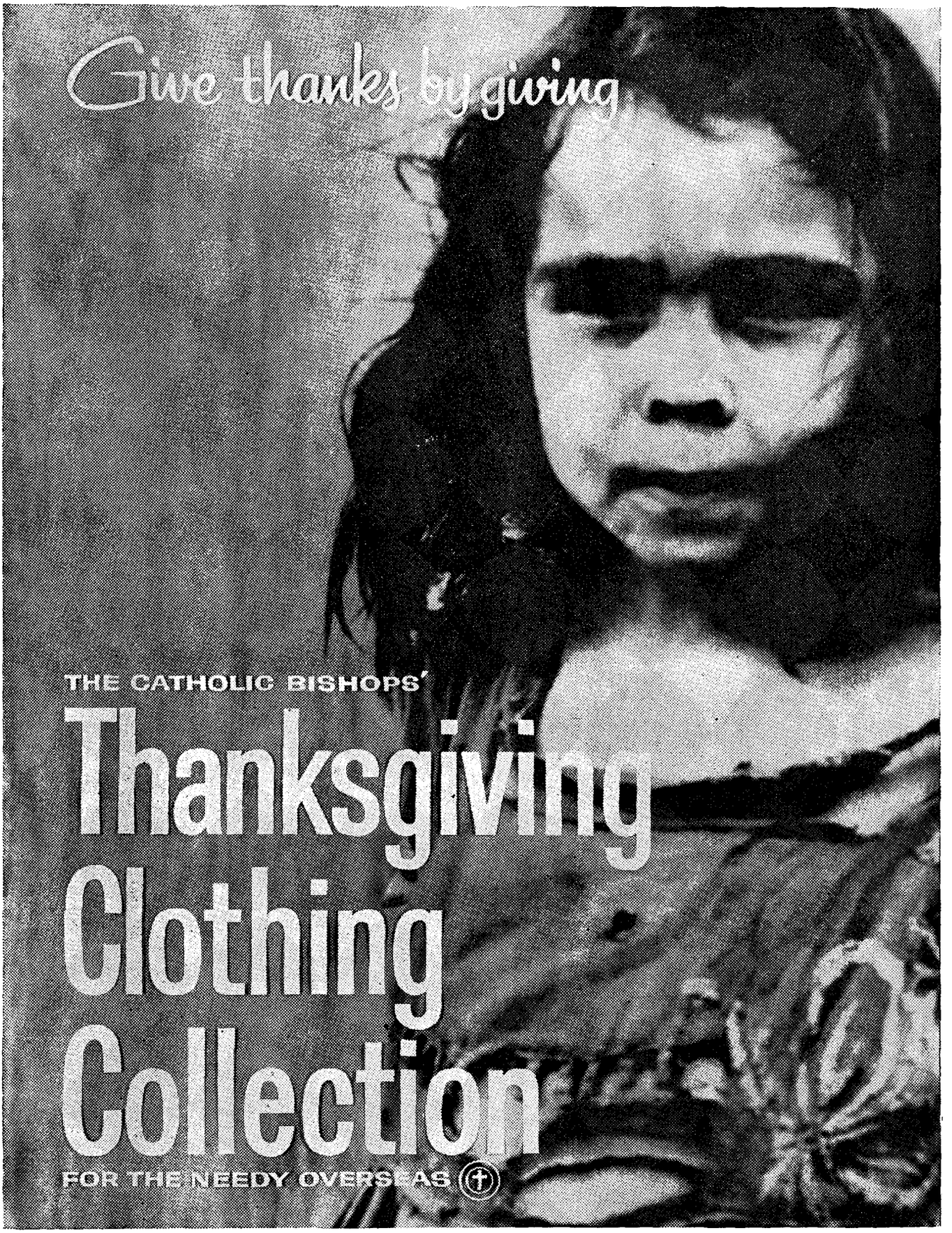

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